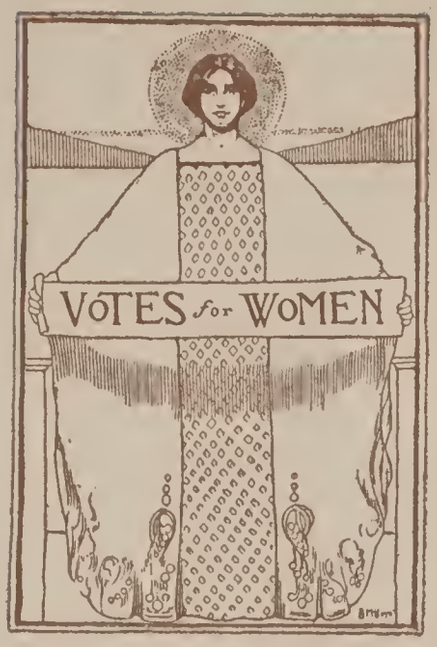

The Wage-Earning Woman and The State

A Reply to Miss Minnie Bronson.

BY

EDITH ABBOTT, Ph. D.

of Hull-House Chicago

and

SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE, LL. B., Ph. D.

Assistant Professor of Social Economy, in the University of Chicago.

Directors of the Department of Social Investigation
in the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government

585 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

95

PREFACE.

This reply to Miss Bronson's pamphlet has been written by Miss S. P. Breckinridge and Miss Edith Abbott, who are both well qualified, not only by rather unusual academic training, but also by practical experience, to speak authoritatively on questions relating to wage-earning women.

Miss Breckinridge is a graduate of Wellesley College, and later received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science from The University of Chicago. Since 1902, she has been a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago, where she has given courses attended by both men and women on "The Legal Status of Labor" and "The Legal Position of Women." In 1904 she was made a Doctor of Law, and she was also the first woman to be admitted to the bar of Kentucky, although she has never actively practised. Since 1907 she has been, in addition, head of the Department of Social Investigation at the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, which disburses a budget of $10,000 from a grant of the Russell Sage Foundation, and which has published a series of valuable studies on social conditions in Chicago. Miss Breckinridge is also identified with many social interests in Chicago. She is President of the Woman's City Club; Secretary of the Immigrants' Protective League; a member of the Board of Directors of the Legal Aid Society, of the Consumers' League, and of other similar organizations.

Miss Edith Abbott was graduated from the University of Nebraska, and later received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Economics and Law from the University of Chicago. She was for two years a Fellow of the University, and studied in Europe for one year at the University of London in the School of Economics. After teaching political economy at Wellesley College for one year, she entered the School of Civics and Philanthropy, where she has been Associate Director for the last five years. She is the author of a very authoritative work entitled "Women in Industry; A Study in American Economic History." Her knowledge of the conditions surrounding working women is by no means confined to America. She is in constant correspondence with the people most interested in the conditions of working women in England and the continental countries, and by travel and correspondence has kept herself well informed concerning the legal and industrial changes which affect the lives of women the world over. Both Miss Breckinridge and Miss Abbott are personally acquainted with hundreds of working women. Miss Abbott has been a resident of Hull House for the last few years, and Miss Breckinridge is in residence each year during her three months' vacation from teaching at the University. They thus add to their scholarly qualifications a keen and living interest in thousands of working women.

JANE ADDAMS.

Hull House, Chicago.

"The statement is sometimes made that the franchise for women would be valuable only so far as the educated women exercised it. This statement totally disregards the fact that those matters in which women's judgment is most needed are far too primitive and basic to be largely influenced by what we call education. The sanitary condition of all the factories and workshops, for instance, in which the industrial processes are at present carried on in great cities, intimately affects the health and lives of thousands of working women."—*Jane Addams.*

The Wage-Earning Woman and The State.

A REPLY TO MISS MINNIE BRONSON.

A pamphlet entitled "The Wage-Earning Woman and the State" has been widely circulated by the Massachusetts Association Opposed to the Further Extension of Suffrage to Women. It is written to prove that woman suffrage will not lead to fairer treatment of women in industry or to better laws for their protection. In support of this thesis, the author of the pamphlet, Miss Minnie Bronson, stands practically alone, opposed to the women who, as a result of long years of experience, are qualified to speak as to the conditions under which women work, the difficulties that have been surmounted in securing for them such protective legislation as has been gained, and the need of further efforts in their behalf.

Miss Jane Addams of Hull-House, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the National Consumers' League, Mrs. Raymond Robins, President of the National Women's Trade Union League, Miss Helen Marot, Secretary of the New York Women's Trade Union League, Miss Josephine Goldmark, and many others who speak with authority on subjects connected with women's work are earnest believers in woman suffrage as the surest method of bringing about such reforms as are needed for the protection of working women.

This pamphlet contains a list of the positions held at various times by Miss Bronson before she became a paid representative of the anti-suffragists. It appears that Miss Bronson was a

high school teacher of mathematics from 1889 to 1899, and it is interesting to note that, out of nine different positions which she held during the years between 1899 and 1910, only two, both of which were temporary appointments with the United States Bureau of Labor, the first lasting about two years and the second for six months, indicate any qualification for attempting to speak authoritatively upon questions affecting the lives and interests of working women.

Inasmuch, then, as Miss Bronson is not herself an authority upon questions relating to women in industry and is so radically opposed to the great body of testimony on the subject, it is important to examine her statements carefully. Her opening paragraph shows that she does not understand the woman suffrage argument, and it may be that, even for reasonably intelligent members of the community, that argument must be presented in simpler terms. The great majority of the advocates of woman suffrage would hold, for example, that at least two mis-statements are contained in the following sentence taken from the first page of her pamphlet: "The claim is made that the laws on our statute books are unjust to the wage-earning woman, and that the only redress from this discrimination is the ballot." In the first place, suffragists do not claim that the working-woman's "only" redress is through the ballot; they do say and believe that the ballot is the swiftest and most direct means of bringing about such reforms as are demanded; but, since they are denied the ballot, these same women are devoting a disproportionately large measure of time and strength in trying to bring about these reforms in other ways. In the second place, so far as women in industry are concerned, suffragists are not so much disturbed about "laws

on our statute books" which are unjust to the working woman as they are about the very general absence of adequate protective legislation in her behalf.

"Fallacious Arguments from the Shirt Waist Strike."

The second section in Miss Bronson's pamphlet is devoted to "Fallacious Arguments from the ShirtWaist Strike." It is claimed that a suffragist said in a public speech, "If the women engaged in this industry had had the ballot such a strike as theirs would have been unnecessary." The anti-suffrage comment is that the suffragists did not know that many of the strikers were either immigrants or were under twenty-one. This again is a misrepresentation, probably due to a misunderstanding of the suffragist attitude. When we say that if women had a vote there would be an end of child labor, and that young girls would work shorter hours, this does not mean that we think the children in the mills and factories and workshops are going to be allowed to vote. Remembering that in England conditions improved for all workingmen when some workmen got the vote, we believe that in this country, when some women get the vote, conditions for all working-women will improve, and the day will come when there will be no working children.

Laws for the Protection of Wage-Earning Men.

Not only has Miss Bronson evidently failed to understand the arguments put forth by the suffragists, but she has also failed to acquaint herself with the principles and history of labor legislation in the United States. She seems rather to have sought out for use in this pamphlet a few illustrations which may perhaps give an impression

of superficial familiarity with the labor laws of the various States, but which indicate a lack of understanding of the facts about protective legislation. The opening paragraph (on page 2) of her "comparative study," closes with the statement that "the laws enacted for the protection of wage-earning women are more beneficent and more far reaching than the laws for the protection of wage-earning men." By way of comment, any fair minded person need only recall the long series of statutes enacted in all the leading industrial states, covering a period of nearly three-fourths of a century, as a result of the efforts of workingmen to bring about through legislation a larger measure of justice than they could obtain through their attempts to bargain with individual employers. Thus we have the anti-truck laws; laws providing for the weekly payment of wages; the mechanics' lien laws; the assignment of wages laws; laws making employes preferred creditors; laws providing for liability of stockholders for wage debts; exemption of workingmen's tools and wages from attachment for debt; laws requiring safety appliances and protection against accidents; laws allowing time to vote without loss of pay; laws preventing the coercion of employes in the exercise of suffrage; laws regulating prison labor; the trade union laws regarding blacklisting, protection of the union label, and so on; the laws providing for an eight-hour day for federal, state, and municipal employes, nearly all of whom are men; the laws relating to mining and railroad labor; and many similar laws. Moreover, it should be understood that this legislation, although it may in a few cases protect the workingwoman as well as the workingman, represents the results of long years of earnest struggle by workingmen with votes to improve their condition. And

yet Miss Bronson entirely ignores this great mass of legislation enacted to protect the workingman, while she lays stress on the fact that some states have a few special provisions designed to protect wage-earning women from exploitation which is likely to injure their health and endanger the health of their children.

Comparison of Laws in Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States.

The chief points of attack, however, in this anti-suffrage pamphlet are (a) the fact that protective legislation for women is found on the statute books of some states where women do not vote, and that (b) in a few states where women do vote similar laws have not yet been passed. The questions at issue here are so confused by the method of presentation that it may be worth while to state them in some detail.

(a) The first point in Miss Bronson's argument is that protective legislation has been obtained in states where women do not vote. No suffragist would deny this. It is, of course, well known that most of this legislation was obtained through the laborious efforts of suffragists. American women would probably have got the vote long ago if they had followed the present English method of making suffrage a paramount issue first, last, and all the time. Instead of this, Miss Jane Addams in Illinois, Mrs. Florence Kelley in New York, and a host of other ardent suffragists have labored with the greatest devotion and self-sacrifice to secure protective legislation for women and children. How much effort they have put into it, how much time and energy it has cost, only those who have been closely associated with them know. It should not be forgotten that, as the result of their experience, they say that the ballot is the

swiftest and surest way to bring about the reforms which are asked by and for the women workers of this country.

(b) A very different question is the point which the anti-suffragist confuses with this,—the fact that such protective legislation does not exist in some of the states in which women have the ballot. No argument on this point is worth noticing which ignores the special needs of these states. Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, and Utah are all mining and agricultural states, and have very few wage-earning women who are employed in factories. It would be as foolish to reproach the women of Idaho for not protecting factory girls who do not exist as to reproach the men of Massachusetts because they have failed to pass irrigation laws. Massachusetts had 152,713 women employed in "manufacturing and mechanical pursuits" when the last U. S. census of occupations was taken; Idaho had only 681. A similar contrast might be drawn for any of the other states: thus Wyoming had 501 women in industrial occupations, while New York in the same year had 136,788.

Miss Bronson attaches so much importance to her arguments on this point that they should perhaps be considered in greater detail. For example, she says that "thirty-nine states compel employers in stores, factories, shops, etc., to provide seats for female employes. Nine states have no such laws, and one of the nine states is a suffrage state." If conditions in all states were alike, this might indicate that states in which women vote give less protection to workingwomen than states in which women do not vote. The one suffrage state, however, that fails to provide seats for saleswomen is Idaho, which according to the census had 153 saleswomen in the entire state at a time when Massachusetts had 11,985, Illinois

12,149 and New York 30,858.[1] Those who know the small store in the small western town know that the personal relation still exists between employer and clerk, and that the clerk is usually a mature woman, who is not in the same need of protection as are the tens of thousands of young girls who stand behind the counters of the great city stores, who work under most arduous conditions, frequently under terrible pressure, and who never come in personal contact with their employers and have no opportunity of stating their needs. It should, moreover, be pointed out that in most of the thirty-nine states where voteless women have secured these laws, they have never been given the means of enforcing them. They have obtained protective laws which protect no one. [2]

Hours of Work.

The next point is the fact that night work for women is not prohibited in Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming and Utah. Why should it be? Is it a reproach to Rhode Island workingmen that they

(1) Mrs. Eva Hunt Dockery, who has served for ten years on the Legislative Committee of the Idaho State Federation of Women's Clubs, wrote in the Woman's Journal of Dec. 17, 1910, in answer to Richard Barry's criticism that Idaho had no law limiting women's factory hours:—

"Idaho has no factories where women are employed, so the need of this law has not been felt. Up to a very few years ago there was not a department store in the State, and the clerks in the stores were treated as they were in the good old days in the East, like members of the family."

(2) Mrs. Kelley in her "Ethical Gains through Legislation" (Macmillan 1910, p. 200) gives the following account of the efforts of the Consumers' League to help the shop girl.

"For years the friends of the young clerks in retail stores have striven to obtain for them the poor privilege of being seated when at work, and with what success? In many states, laws have been enacted making diverse provisions for seats in stores. In New York City, for instance, the law has required, since 1896, that one seat be provided for every three clerks. In some stores the seats have been supplied

have never secured an eight-hour day for miners? Ought the workingmen of Nebraska to be disfranchised because they have not passed a law protecting seamen?

Legislation regarding the hours of labor for women is also discussed. Miss Bronson says that thirty-one states have passed laws restricting the hours, but that two of the suffrage States (Wyoming and Idaho) have not. It has already been pointed out that these two states had almost no wage-earning women in shops and factories who needed protection. Miss Bronson, however, makes a special point against suffrage in claiming that

for the third floor, because the clerks were chiefly employed upon the first. In many stores chairs are abundantly supplied in the fitting rooms of the cloak, tailoring and dressmaking departments, for the use of customers, and are included in the general reckoning according to which there are, on the premises, chairs in the proportion of one to three clerks. In still other cases, chairs or seats are wholly absent from the notion counters and from the counters or tables in the aisles of the stores where half-grown girls serve as sales-clerks. The absence of the seats is suavely explained by the fact that the employes are there only temporarily. But their employment lasts day after day, and the pretext is utterly transparent. In still other places, seats are provided ostentatiously, but girls who use them are censured or dismissed. All these variations of the art of evading the statute have been found by the writer in reputable establishments in New York City."

Reference should also be made to a suffrage pamphlet by Mrs. Kelley called "*Persuasion or Responsibility?*" in which she points out how child labor and compulsory education laws have in the same way turned out to be protective only in name, and she calls attention to the loss which results from the fact that the women who are "fitted by nature and by training to guard the welfare of the children are prevented by law from electing the officers who enforce the laws. For instance, the laws of New York are, in some respects, the most drastic and enlightened laws in the Republic. But the magistrates in New York City will not fine fathers who break the child labor law, and the compulsory education law. . . . . The Commissioner of Health makes no attempt to prosecute merchants and telegraph companies who employ children at night or without 'working papers.' The present Commissioner of Police has not punished one parent for flagrant and wholesale violation of the 'newsboy law,' which forbids boys to work after ten at night or before they are ten years old. . . . If mothers and teachers voted in New York City, none of these things would occur. The same eager interest which has placed the child labor law, the compulsory education law, the newsboy law, and the juvenile court law upon the statute books, would elect a mayor pledged to the enforcement of those laws."

Colorado, a suffrage state which does limit the hours of labor for women, has a very inferior and inadequate law. She does not seem to have discovered that this law was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Colorado in 1907, and no longer exists on the statute books. It is interesting, however, to note how she uses it. Disregarding a statement about night work which has already been referred to, her points against this law are so confused that it is best to disentangle them and discuss them separately.

(1) It is claimed that the Colorado law, since it did not limit the hours per week, gave only "slight protection," while the Nebraska law limits the number of hours per week, "thereby ensuring one day of rest." Miss Bronson does not state here that the Nebraska law provides for a ten-hour-day and a sixty-hour-week, and does not prohibit Sunday labor; it is difficult to see how Miss Bronson understands the law to ensure one day of rest.[3] On the other hand, the Colorado law provided for an eight-hour-day, and the number of hours per week was by this fact limited to fifty-six. Since, however, the majority of employers do not want their work places open on Sunday, even when this is not prohibited by law, the limitation of an eight-hour day prescribed in the Colorado law made for the great majority of working women a forty-eight hour week, in contrast to the sixty-hour week in the "neighboring states of Oklahoma, South Dakota, North Dakota, Nebraska" which Miss Bronson re-

(3) What Miss Bronson probably has in mind is the fact that Nebraska in company with a large number of other states has a law prohibiting Sunday labor which applies to both men and women. The fact that Colorado has no Sunday labor law, except one relating to barbers, would be quite as good an argument against suffrage for men as suffrage for women since it is the men in the large metal working establishments who are chiefly affected by the absence of Sunday laws. As these laws are very rarely enforced it seems absurd to discuss them.

fers to with so much satisfaction. Attention must in this connection be once more called to the fact that it is little short of ridiculous to discuss these laws as if they were all genuinely protective through proper enforcement. One may only hope that when women vote they will make these so-called protective laws something more than records on the statute books.

(2) Miss Bronson's knowledge of industrial conditions seems to be singularly at fault when she further criticises the Colorado law because "the clause restricting its operation to women who must stand at their work renders it practically ineffective in the factories of that state, where the manufacturing is largely in what is termed 'seated' trades—ready-made clothing, dressmaking, millinery and like occupations, and in candy making, box-making, and cigar-making. The great manufacturing establishments, where women must stand at work, like cotton and woollen manufacturing, carpet weaving, etc., are not located in Colorado."

This statement is so incorrect that it seemed best to quote it in full. Miss Bronson claims that in Colorado the great majority of women are employed in "seated" trades; and candy-making, box-making, and cigar-making are cited as samples. But the last census of occupations [4] showed 65 women and girls in the entire state employed in candy-making ("confectioners"), 11 in box-making, and 30 in cigar-making, in contrast to 1,184 saleswomen, 762 waitresses, and 1,599 in hand and steam laundries, and surely saleswomen, waitresses and laundry workers are employed in standing trades.

(4) Twelfth Census: Occupations: Table 33.

Unsound Comparisons,

Miss Bronson seems to have been unable to resist the temptation that offered to make a few other misleading and unfair comparisons before closing this part of her argument. She calls attention to the fact that Massachusetts has a law prohibiting employers from deducting the wages of women when time is lost because machinery has broken down; and although it is, of course, well known that this law was passed to correct certain abuses to which women operatives in the textile mills were subjected, Miss Bronson chooses to regard it as an argument against suffrage because the women of Idaho and Utah, Wyoming and Colorado, have not wasted the time of their legislatures in encumbering their statute books with laws that were not needed.

Similarly absurd is her attempt to use as an argument against suffrage the fact that certain non-suffrage states have statutes prohibiting the exclusion of women from occupations on account of sex. Miss Bronson should have known that these laws were passed because, in a few states, the courts took the position that, since women were not voters, they could not become practising lawyers; and the statutes quoted were therefore necessary to correct this situation. In other states, the courts took a different attitude. One of the present writers, for example, was admitted to the Kentucky bar a good many years ago in order to test the question when it was raised in that state and the position taken by the court when she was admitted made legislation on the subject unnecessary in that state; on the other hand, refusal of the court to admit Mrs. Myra Bradwell to the bar on the grounds of non-participation in government made a statute necessary in Illinois. The significant point is that

in any state where women do participate in the government there is no ground on which the court can uphold their exclusion from the bar, and yet Miss Bronson argues that the women in the suffrage states ought not to have the right to vote because they have not passed laws which would be entirely superfluous in any state where women shared in the government, and which were never needed or passed save in two or three states where the courts took the position referred to.

Review of Conditions in the Six Suffrage States.

Washington and California, the newer suffrage states, have eight-hour laws for women, but Miss Bronson says that these laws "were enacted under male suffrage." So far as Washington is concerned, this is not true. Before equal suffrage was adopted, the advocates of shorter hours for women in Washington had tried for eight years to secure an eight-hour law, without success. After the ballot was granted to women the Legislature promptly passed the law.

In California, the eight-hour law for women was passed a short time before equal suffrage was adopted; but, as it was passed by the same Legislature which also passed the woman suffrage amendment to the State Constitution by a vote of 33 to 5 in the Senate and 65 to 12 in the Assembly, it certainly does not bear out Miss Bronson's claim that such protective legislation for woman is adopted "above all because she herself is not a law-maker."

Colorado in 1903 passed an eight-hour law for women, but it was pronounced unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court in 1907. In the last Colorado Legislature, a more carefully drawn eight-hour law for women passed the lower house

with only one dissenting vote, but was blocked in the Senate, like almost all other legislation in that year, by the deadlock over the election of a U. S. Senator.

Massachusetts has just passed a 54-hour a week law for women, as the culmination of about forty years of effort by indirect influence to improve conditions for women in industry. Utah in 1911 passed a nine-hour law for women, after less than two years of effort by its advocates. (5) Women with votes got this law from the first Legislature of which they asked it.

To sum up: Of the six equal suffrage States, three have passed eight-hour laws for women (though in Colorado the law was thrown out by the courts), and one a nine-hour law. Of the non-suffrage States, not one has an eight-hour law for women (6) and only five have nine-hour laws. *The Legislatures in most of the suffrage States have shown much greater readiness to protect women from over-work than the Legislatures in most of the non-suffrage States.*

The Right to Vote not Dependent on Hours of Toil.

There is not the slightest ground for Miss Bronson's inference that where a woman has the

(5) Mrs. Elizabeth M. Cohen of Salt Lake City, chairman of the Industrial Committee of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, told in the Woman's Journal of May 27, 1911, how this was accomplished. The coöperation of women's organizations with an aggregate of 50,000 members was secured. Mrs. Cohen says:

"The large number of women represented was both inspiring and appalling—inspiring the (women's) committee to give the best that was in them, and appalling to the legislator who would like to be re-elected two years hence, and realized that 50,000 votes stood back of that representation. His discomfiture was increased by the knowledge that some of his constituents, who were identified with corporations and special interests, would demand an accounting. The 50,000 votes prevailed. * * * If we had not had the vote we should not have succeeded."

(6) Arizona has an eight-hour law applying only to women in laundries.

same right to vote as a man, she "must give as many hours of toil per day as he."

Justice Brewer of the U. S. Supreme Court, himself a suffragist, wrote the opinion of that court upholding the constitutionality of legislation limiting women's hours of labor. The decision says in part:

"Even though all restrictions on political, personal and contractual rights were taken away, and she (woman) stood, so far as statutes are concerned, upon an absolutely equal plane with him (man) it would still be true . . . that her physical structure and a proper discharge of her maternal function—having in view not merely her own health but the well-being of the race—justify legislation to protect her from the greed as well as the passion of man."

Wages of Teachers.

Leaving women in industry, Miss Bronson passes on to the wages of teachers. She calls attention to the suffragist argument that the ballot will lead "to fair treatment of women in public service" as indicated, for example, by the laws of Wyoming and Utah, which provide that women and men teachers shall receive equal pay for equal work, and she ends by saying impressively, "It is not denied that female teachers do not in the majority of cases receive the same pay as men for work of equal grade; but here *the law of supply and demand is paramount, and legislation cannot affect it.*" While it would be fruitless to go back to the "iron laws" of the early economists and to enter upon a long discussion of the out-worn doctrine of the inflexibility and almost sacred character of supply and demand, one may briefly call attention to the fact that the

supply of child labor has been very greatly reduced in many states, and entirely cut off in others by means of protective legislation; and that in still other states the demand for child labor has greatly decreased as the result of inconvenient protective provisions in child labor laws, and the demand for the labor of men and women has correspondingly increased. (7)

Conclusion.

In conclusion, it should perhaps be explained that this little pamphlet was written merely to point out Miss Bronson's failure to understand the suffragist argument, which she attempts to criticise, and to call attention to the fact that her knowledge of labor legislation was not such as to

(7) Miss Alice Stone Blackwell has kindly contributed the following interesting statement regarding Miss Bronson's discussion of teachers' salaries.

The average pay of male teachers in Massachusetts is about three times that of women teachers. Miss Bronson says, with truth, that it would be misleading to infer that the proportional difference is so great when the men and women are doing the same work. She immediately goes on to make an elaborate argument, on the same misleading basis, in the endeavor to prove that women teachers do not get as good treatment in the suffrage States as elsewhere.

Let it be kept clearly in mind that the claim of the women teachers is for equal pay when they hold positions involving equal work and equal responsibility—not that an exact half of all the more highly paid and responsible places shall be held by women.

The law of Wyoming and Utah, and the custom in the other suffrage States, is that women teachers shall receive the same pay as men when they do work of the same grade. Miss Bronson claims that women do not get it in Wyoming and Utah, "in spite of the law on their statute books to the contrary," because the *average* pay of women teachers in those States is not equal to that of the men. The law does not say that their average pay shall be the same. It does say that their pay shall be the same when they perform the same work; and this law is enforced.

A majority of the higher teaching positions are held by men in the suffrage States as well as elsewhere. This is a condition of things which will long outlast women's disfranchisement.

In Wyoming and other Western States, where women are largely out-numbered by men and the pressure upon the teachers to marry is very strong, the number of women who remain in the profession long enough to fit themselves for the highest positions is naturally small. But in the suffrage States all educational positions are open to

make her a reliable guide in discussing the subject. It is not necessary here to show that Miss Bronson misleads by refusing to note the obviously good laws which have been passed since women obtained a vote. It may be well, however, once more to call attention to the fact that the beneficial results which suffragists believe will accrue to workingwomen when they have the vote will many of them be indirect and cumulative through a long period of time. While they are none the

women, even that of State Superintendent of Public Instruction; and the salary is graded according to position, not according to sex.

The figures given by Miss Bronson as to the average pay of men and women teachers in different States are therefore wholly irrelevant to the question of whether they get equal pay for equal work.

Entirely misleading, also, is her statement in regard to the actual wages paid to women teachers. Eleven States, she says,(four of them suffrage States, by the way) pay women teachers higher monthly wages than Wyoming and Utah. Everybody knows that teachers are paid more in city schools than in the country, both because the work is harder and because the cities are richer. Wyoming has not a single large city, and Utah has only one. Yet Miss Bronson presents it as an argument against woman suffrage that seven out of the forty-two non-suffrage States pay women higher monthly salaries than these two suffrage States. Is it not more significant that Wyoming and Utah actually pay their women teachers at a higher rate than the much richer States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Oregon and more than a score of others?

In all the enfranchised States, equal suffrage has helped the schools. Mrs. Julia Ward Howe sent a circular letter to all the editors, and to all the ministers of four leading denominations in Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, asking them what benefits, if any, had resulted from women's ballot. Out of the 624 answers received only 62 were unfavorable; and among the benefits most often cited by the ministers and editors was that equal suffrage had made it easier to get liberal appropriations for education.

Miss Bronson refers to the recent law granting the women teachers in New York City equal pay with the men when they do equal work. She says: "It is worth noting that this law was passed in a male suffrage State by a Legislature elected by male suffrage." It is worth noting, also, that the teachers had to put in six years of hard and exhausting work to get it by "indirect influence," while in the suffrage States the same result has come about almost automatically, without any labor on their part. It is also worth noting that Miss Grace Strachan, who led the teachers'campaign in New York, is a suffragist and, like Miss Margaret Haley and almost all the women teachers who have led successful fights for better pay she believes that their work would have been much easier if they had had the ballot; and she testifies that the difficulties which they met have converted the teachers to suffrage in shoals.

less valuable for this reason, it should be clearly understood that suffragists do not believe that within the first year or even within the first decade during which women have the right to vote, all possible reforms will be immediately accomplished. At the time when Miss Bronson's pamphlet was published, Idaho had been a suffrage state for fourteen years, and yet her pamphlet is largely devoted to showing that women ought not to be allowed to vote anywhere, because in Idaho, a state in which the number of women is proportionately very much smaller than the number of men, the small minority of voting women had not in fourteen years placed upon the statute books not only the laws which were needed in that State but also an elaborate industrial code protecting factory women who did not exist. For example, during the first session of the legislature after the women secured the vote in Colorado, and within three years in Idaho and in Utah, a much needed form of protection was given to girls by raising the so-called "age of consent" from fourteen to eighteen. When the need of industrial protection is felt, similarly effective measures will undoubtedly be passed. In the meantime is it fair to charge that the women of these states have furnished an argument against suffrage because they have not secured in a few years all of the laws developed out of a century's experience with factory conditions in the more highly organized industrial states, when these laws would be superfluous in the far western states in which they live?

It is of interest that the workingwomen themselves believe that they will have a more equal footing in the industrial struggle when they have the protection of the vote, and that the women's

trade unions of this country and of England [8] are in the front ranks of suffrage advocates. One who thinks earnestly about the position of workingwomen can never overlook the enormous indirect consequences of the ballot, — the gain in education, in independence, in self-reliance, and therefore the gain for workingwomen in the ability to organize. Everyone believes that the privilege of voting is educative in many ways. Workingwomen are only asking that they should not be denied this instrument of education and protection, which no one would now think of denying to the workingman. To quote Mrs. Kelley again, "For any body of wage-earners to be disfranchised is to be placed at an intolerable disadvantage in all matters of legislation."

(8) An extremely interesting phase of the suffrage movement in England which has been much neglected because it is not spectacular nor militant furnishes valuable testimony from the ranks of the workers themselves as to the value they place upon the vote. They make but one appeal, "the political freedom of the poorest of the workers." An extract from one of the tracts issued by the skilled women workers of the north of England to the less competent women of the south may be of interest: "In the old days men suffered as women do now, but since they got political power they have altered all that; they have been able to enforce a much fairer rate of wages. It is the women who are sweated . . . we who have no labor representation to protect us . . . without political power in England, it is impossible to get industrial justice or a fair return for your labor. . . . The cheap labor of women is not a local difficulty that can be remedied by local means; it is a national difficulty, and nothing less than a national reform, giving women the protection of political power, can make any really effective change in their position. So we are agitating for votes for women, and we appeal to you to join our ranks." Again one of their "Textile Tracts" points out that the position of the voteless workingwoman is a forlorn and difficult one. "She has no social or political influence to back her. Her Trade Union stands or falls by its power of negotiating; it cannot hope to have the weight with employers that the men's unions have, for instead of being a strong association of voters . . . it is merely a band of workers carrying on an almost hopeless struggle to improve conditions of work and wages. . . . A vote in itself is a small thing, but the aggregate vote of a great union is a very different matter." (See Atlantic Monthly, vol. 102, "The English Working-Woman and the Franchise.")

"Woman Suffrage Co-Equal with Man Suffrage."

(From the Platform of Principles of the American Federation of Labor.)

"I am for unqualified woman suffrage as a matter of human justice. . . . . It is unfair that women should be governed by laws in the making of which they have no voice. . . . . Men would feel that they were used badly if they did not have that right, and women naturally feel the same."

SAMUEL GOMPERS,
Pres. American Federation of Labor.

"I'm in perfect harmony with the declaration of the American Federation of Labor, which has endorsed the demand that women be given the right to vote. . . . . I have always stood for the square deal, and that's the only square thing on the woman suffrage question, as I see it. . . . . I personally believe that it would be for the good of us all for women to be enfranchised."

JOHN MITCHELL,
Ex-Pres. United Mine Workers of America.

"I would advise all the Workers of America to work for Woman Suffrage.

KEIR HARDIE, M.P.
Independent Labor Party.

"The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."

HON. CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
Late U. S. Commissioner of Labor.

"Nothing tells the location of our hearts more surely than the figures of the tax-list. Colorado spends the highest amount per capita for educational purposes of any state in the Union."

HELEN LORING GRENFELL,
For three terms Colorado State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

"I saw by the papers that the Governor of Massachusetts lately signed the 54-hour law for women and children, but it was stated that he did so with hesitation, and only upon a promise that no further reduction of hours would be sought for some years to come. On the same day he signed a bill limiting to 48 hours a week the time that men should be employed on public works. He expressed no hesitation about that. Do grown-up men employed at public work need more protection than women and little children working in factories and cotton-mills? What was the reason for this difference? There is only one answer: Women and children cannot vote!"

OWEN LOVEJOY,
Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.